3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

against *luveniwai* and could have kept the naughty boys in order with what had been provided previously. Anyway we failed to stamp it out . . . I think there is not much harm in it so long as the votaries refrain from picking and stealing, and are duly respectful to their elders, and there is certainly a fair element of romance and poetry about it."[50]

Mr. Brewster endorsed the introduction of cricket into his district in the hope that the game would give the boys an outlet for their superfluous energy. Cricket clubs were organized and the game became very popular. It was soon found, however, that cricket was being used as a cloak for cult activities. In one district the organization aimed to free the natives from British rule. In imitation of the system of colonial administration in Fiji they had elected a governor, chief justice, and chief secretary. The native cult, altered by the introduction of cricket and organized in imitation of the colonial government, was being used for political purposes. The movement was effectively suppressed when the new cult leaders were sent to jail.

Many other natives besides those of the "Water Baby" cult make the adjustment to modern life by turning to a greater or less extent to their ancestral gods. An example of this is the rise of the *Tuka* or "Immortality" secret society. About 1873 (forty years after the introduction of Christianity into Fiji) a secret cult sprang up in the foothills of the Nakauvandra mountains in northeast Viti Levu. This is the traditional home of Ndengei, the great snake god and the mythical deity of Fiji. The leader of the "Immortality" cult was a young man named Ndukumoi (pronounced En-du-ku-moí) of a hereditary priest clan. He was not striking in appearance—a Negroid type of medium height and bleary-eyed from excessive kava drinking.[51] Ndukumoi left his home and went to Taveuni, an island off the east coast of Vanua Levu, where

[50] *Ibid.*, pp. 230-231.
[51] "The *Tuka* Religion," *Transactions of the Fijian Society, 1910*, 1925, p. 54.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

794 he worked for a European and evidently was deeply disturbed
668 by contact with western culture. While there, two of his ancestral gods appeared to him. Ndukumoi recognized them and was afraid, but they told him to heed their words and he would receive "mana" from them. The young man carried out their instructions and a new cult was revealed to him.

There is some difference of opinion concerning his teachings. Most accounts agree, however, that he upheld the Bible but maintained that Jehovah and Jesus Christ had been substituted for the two ancestral gods who appeared to him. He exhorted his followers to commit no sin and to pray to these two gods. They would be rewarded by eternal youth and immortality in the "red paradise" (*mburotu kula*). The sinful would be condemned to everlasting fire. He took the name of Navosavakandua (pronounced Na-vó-sa-vá-ka-en-dú-a, meaning "he who speaks but once"), the term applied to the colonial chief justice because there is no appeal against his decision. He re-named the seven days of the week, which had been introduced by the missionaries, and set aside the seventh as the holy sabbath when meetings were held in temples secretly dedicated to the "Immortality" cult. He selected priests and women to attend them and inaugurated ceremonies which were a combination of kava drinking, dances, prayers, the presentation of property, and military drill. He organized his followers under drill sergeants, *rokos*, and *mbulis*, in imitation of the native colonial officials.

Many miracles were ascribed to Navosavakandua. His doctrine spread quickly in northeastern Viti Levu, which at that time was far from the nearest government station. His prophecies created so much excitement and unrest that in 1878 he was banished to Lau. He returned to his province after four years and began his activities with even greater energy, with the result that the military aspect of the "Immortality" movement developed and spread over a wide area. The cult became distinctly hostile to the government and aimed at

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

overturning the white man's rule. It caused the administration considerable trouble until finally the leader was banished for ten years to Rotuma island, north of the Fiji group, where he died. His spirit, however, continued to haunt the hill country of Viti Levu, and the cult persisted for many years.

The "Immortality" cult, with its unique combination of the old and the new, provided a spiritual outlet to a people reacting against the too rapid influx of foreign innovations. It was a desperate attempt to recapture the past, mainly the spiritual values of the disappearing native culture. The history of the movement illustrates the process by which a messiah so often arises among a harassed people in a period of stress.

Other prophets have arisen in Fiji with the same message of recreating the glories of the past and freeing the people from foreign domination. A recent outstanding one is Apolosi, a young man from the province of Lautoka in northwest Viti Levu. Apolosi became the leader of a political movement called the Fijian Youth, which spread rapidly through the group in the 1920's and has only been suppressed by the banishment of the leader to Rotuma.

Many examples have been recorded of messianic and reactionary movements among peripheral peoples after first contact with western civilization. These successful messiahs, however, represent but a fraction of the number of potential messiahs whom circumstances of temperament or environment repress. Tarai of Kambara is an interesting example of a repressed messiah.

Tarai's father, although born on Kambara, traveled a great deal in his youth. He was among the one hundred Fijians chosen to represent the colony at the Golden Jubilee of Queen Victoria in England. He married a woman of a hereditary priest clan in Rewa, a high ranking village on Viti Levu, and for some time lived in the village. After two years there were no offspring to this union and his wife consulted one of her female relatives, a medicine woman. She was given